

## Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, TU

SUBJECT:BRIEFING MEMORANDUM -- DISCUSSION WITH TURKISH  
PRIME MINISTER: CSCE REVISION

FOR HARTMAN AND CLIFT (NSC)

1. PARTICIPANTS:

-- US TURKEY

-- THE PRESIDENT PRIME MINISTER SULEYMAN

-- THE SECRETARY DEMIREL

-- ASSISTANT SECRETARY PHONETIC: DEM-EER-EL

-- HARTMAN ADDRESSED: MR. PRIME MINISTER

-- FOREIGN MINISTER IHSAN SABRI

-- CAGLAYANGIL

-- PHONETIC: CHAW-LAY-UN-GILL

-- ADDRESSED: MR. MINISTER

2. LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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3. CHECKLIST:

-- ARMS EMBARGO. TELL DEMIREL THAT WE WILL CONTINUE OUR  
EFFORTS WITH CONGRESS.

-- RELATIONS WITH US AND NATO. ENCOURAGE TURKISH RESTRAINT IN DISMANTLING BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS.

-- CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. STRESS NEED FOR EARLY PROGRESS AND URGE DEMIREL TO APPROACH FUTURE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS WITH MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY.

-- AEGEAN. SUPPORT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE.

#### 4. CSCE.

TURKISH VIEWS ON CSCE WERE COLORED BY THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND WORSENING RELATIONS WITH GREECE. INITIALLY INTERESTED IN THE PRINCIPLES AND BASKET 2 ITEMS, THE TURKS ALSO HAD IMPORTANT PROBLEMS IN CBMS, WHERE THEY DEMANDED SPECIAL CONCESSIONS, AND THEY FRETTED ABOUT ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS ATTENDING THE CSCE STAGE III AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF CYPRUS.

#### 5. SETTING

YOU MET PREVIOUSLY WITH DEMIREL AT THE NATO SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS DURING MAY. DEMIREL AND GREEK PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THIS "NEUTRAL" GROUND TO HAVE A LONG, PRIVATE MEETING WHICH, THOUGH IT LED TO NO MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH, DID HELP CREATE A BETTER ATMOSPHERE IN GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. MUCH OF THIS CAN BE EXPECTED TO DISSIPATE AS A RESULT OF THE JULY 24 VOTE IN CONGRESS, WHICH TURKEY ATTRIBUTES IN PART TO GREEK LOBBYING ACTIVITIES IN THIS COUNTRY.

DISAPPOINTMENT AND ANGER OVER THIS VOTE WERE EVIDENCED BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT DECLARATION OF JULY 25 THAT THE 1969 DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT (DCA) WAS INVALID,  
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AND ITS ORDER TO SUSPEND AS OF JULY 26 ALL ACTIVITIES AT US BASES WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NATO ACTIVITIES AT INCIRLIK AND TO PLACE THESE BASES UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE TURKISH ARMY. AS OF JULY 26 PRIMARY ACTIVITIES AT OUR BASES CEASED. IMMEDIATE MOVES AGAINST NATO INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY ARE NOT CONSIDERED LIKELY.

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DEMIREL WILL WANT TO HAVE YOUR ASSESSMENT WHETHER EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION IS LIKELY AND HOW WE VIEW FUTURE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH TURKEY.

OUR MAIN OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO CONVINCE THE TURKS THAT

IT IS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST TO MAINTAIN A CLOSE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT WE ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE A NEW DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT IN ANKARA.

6. COURTESY POINT:

EXPRESS PERSONAL REGRET THAT CONGRESS FAILED TO PASS THE BILL LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY, REMIND DEMIREL OF THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE ADMINISTRATION, AND THE JULY 25 STATEMENT REQUESTING THAT THE VOTE BE RECONSIDERED.

7. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS:

A. MILITARY ASSISTANCE SUSPENSION

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED THE US ARMS CUT-OFF ENTIRELY UNJUSTIFIED. ON JUNE 16, IT ANNOUNCED THAT IF THE EMBARGO WERE NOT LIFTED BY JULY 17, TURKEY WOULD BE COMPELLED TO TAKE SOME RETALIATORY ACTION AGAINST THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN TURKEY. NEGOTIATIONS TO THIS EFFECT BEGAN IN ANKARA JULY 17 BUT WERE LARGELY OF A PROCEDURAL NATURE PRIOR TO THE JULY 24 NEGATIVE HOUSE VOTE.

TALKING POINTS

-- WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO CONVINCE  
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CONGRESS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO. CLEARLY, ANY FURTHER ACTION TAKEN AGAINST OUR FACILITIES WILL LESSEN CHANCES OF GETTING LEGISLATION THROUGH THE HOUSE.

-- POINT OUT THAT THE VOTE WAS NOT A VOTE AGAINST TURKEY BUT A DESIRE FOR MOVEMENT ON THE CYPRUS IMPASSE. THE NEED FOR POSITIVE TURKISH ACTION IN THIS REGARD REMAINS URGENT, AND WE BELIEVE IN TURKEY'S OWN INTEREST.

-- INDICATE THAT WE ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH TURKEY TO FIND NON-US SOURCES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT.

-- NOTE THE POSSIBILITY OF UTILIZING A 50 MILLION DOL WAIVER.

B. RELATIONS WITH US AND NATO

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT OPENED BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE US MILITARY PRESENCE AND USE OF BASES IN TURKEY ON JULY 17. TURKEY'S MOVE OF JULY 25, SUSPENDING OPERATIONS AT ALL BASES EXCEPT NATO ACTIVITIES AT INCIRLIK AND ITS DECLARATION THAT THE DCA IS INVALID, WILL MAKE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS

VERY DIFFICULT.

TALKING POINTS

-- EMPHASIZE VALUE WE ATTACH TO OUR TURKISH ALLIANCE.  
-- EXPRESS REGRET THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FELT IT  
NECESSARY TO TAKE THE SEVERE ACTION IT DID JULY 25 IN  
SUSPENDING THE ACTIVITIES OF OUR BASES.

-- EMPHASIZE THAT OUR COMPLIANCE DOES NOT INDICATE THAT WE  
CONSIDER THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENT AS INVALID IN A LEGAL  
SENSE.

-- NOTE THAT WE ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE A NEW STATUS FOR  
OUR FACILITIES, IN THE INTERESTS OF PRESERVING AS MUCH OF  
OUR PAST BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP  
AS POSSIBLE.

-- POINT TO INSEPARABILITY OF BILATERAL AND NATO RELATED  
ACTIVITIES, AND ASSURE TURKS OF OUR INTEREST IN THEIR RE-  
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MAINTAINING FULL, ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE.

C. CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

TURKISH LEADERS APPEAR TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR LONG-  
TERM INTERESTS REQUIRE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS.  
IN LATE MAY THERE WAS AGREEMENT BETWEEN DEMIREL AND  
CARAMANLIS AT BRUSSELS TO AVOID DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS  
WHICH MIGHT WORK AGAINST BETTER RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE  
AND TURKEY. HOWEVER, DURING JUNE THE REFERENDUM IN TURK-  
ISH-OCCUPIED CYPRUS AND THE MOVEMENT OF TURKISH MAINLANDERS  
TO CYPRUS HAVE BEEN ADDITIONAL OBSTACLES TO A  
SETTLEMENT.

THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAS MAINTAINED THAT IT IS NOT ABLE  
TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS GIVEN ITS NARROW  
PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY, AND PROBABLE ADVERSE PUBLIC REAC-  
TION. THE JULY 24 US CONGRESSIONAL VOTE WILL EXACERBATE  
THE LATTER. WHETHER THE TURKISH SUSPENSION OF OUR BASE  
ACTIVITIES WILL GIVE THE GOVERNMENT REQUISITE NATIONAL  
SUPPORT SO IT FEELS ABLE TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON CYPRUS,  
REMAINS TO BE SEEN.

TALKING POINTS

-- IT IS IN TURKEY'S OWN INTEREST TO OBTAIN A NEGOTIATED  
SOLUTION AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. WE REALIZE THAT THIS WILL  
NOT COME OVERNIGHT, BUT A BEGINNING MUST BE MADE.

-- COMPROMISES AND CONCESSIONS ON TERRITORIAL AND REFUGEE  
ISSUES WILL BE THE EARNEST OF TURK INTENT TO MAKE PEACE IN

THE EYES OF US AND WORLD PUBLIC OPINION.

-- THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE OF JULY 24 WAS PRIMARILY A VOTE FOR POSITIVE ACTION ON CYPRUS BY TURKEY.

-- WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUMPTION OF US MILITARY AID TO TURKEY. HOWEVER, TURKEY MUST EITHER BY NEGOTIATION OR UNILATERAL ACTION CONVINCE THE WORLD THAT IT DOES NOT PLAN TO RETAIN 40 PER CENT OF CYPRUS, OR DESTROY THE ISLAND'S SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE.

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-- A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WOULD VERY LIKELY END THE VIENNA NEGOTIATING PROCESS. IT WOULD ALSO REMOVE ANY PROSPECT FOR ENDING THE ARMS EMBARGO.

-- SIGNIFICANT TURKISH POPULATION MOVEMENTS TO THE NEW CITY OF FAMAGUSTA WOULD BE A SIGN TO THE WORLD THAT TURKEY DOES NOT PLAN TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, BUT AIMS AT UPSETTING THE POPULATION BALANCE OF CYPRUS.

-- LACK OF PROGRESS IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS COULD RESULT IN THEIR BREAK-OFF AND CHANGE OF VENUE TO UNGA WHERE UNPRODUCTIVE DEBATE WOULD DO LITTLE TO PROMOTE A JUST AND ENDURING SETTLEMENT FOR CYPRUS AND WOULD NOT SERVE TURKEY'S INTERESTS OR ITS INTERNATIONAL STANDING.

-- WE WILL DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS IN THE HOPE THAT VISIBLE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE.

D. THE AEGEAN

PRIME MINISTERS DEMIREL AND CARAMANLIS IN MAY AT BRUSSELS REAFFIRMED THE DECISION OF THEIR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO SUBMIT THE CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE. PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW. DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN HELD IN ANKARA AND ATHENS TO RESOLVE THE AEGEAN SPACE DISPUTE, BUT THE TURKS HAVE FAILED TO AGREE ON SETTING A DATE FOR A MEETING TO DRAFT THE LEGAL DOCUMENT FOR SUBMITTING THE CONTINENTAL SHELF QUESTION TO THE INTERNATIONAL

COURT. STATING THAT THEY "EXPECT" TO BE READY BY SEPTEMBER FOR BILATERAL TALKS, GOT AGENDA PRIORITY APPEARS TO BE A JOINT VENTURE APPROACH TO EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE AEGEAN, WHEREAS ATHENS IS WILLING TO DISCUSS THIS, ONCE THE COMPROMISE HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE ICJ.

IN BRUSSELS THE PRIME MINISTERS ALSO AGREED TO A MEETING OF EXPERTS TO TRY TO RESOLVE AIR SPACE PROBLEMS. THE POSITIVE "SPIRIT OF BRUSSELS" HAS BEEN EVIDENCED BY TWO MEETINGS OF EXPERTS AND BY AN AMICABLE UNDER-

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STANDING BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY OVER TURKISH AIR EXERCISES IN THE AEGEAN AREA.

TALKING POINTS

-- WHILE MANY ASPECTS OF THE AEGEAN REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED BETWEEN TURKEY AND GREECE, A GOOD BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE TOWARD IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS AND IT IS HOPED THAT THE PACE OF BILATERAL MEETINGS WILL BE ACCELERATED.

-- WE COMMEND THE DECISION TO MAKE A JOINT SUBMISSION OF THE CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE TO THE ICJ.

-- IT IS IN EVERYONE'S BEST INTEREST FOR TURKEY AND GREECE TO SHOW MAXIMUM RESTRAINT IN THE AEGEAN.

8. THERE ARE NO CHANGES FOR THE REMAINING SECTIONS SUBMITTED PREVIOUSLY: MBFR, SALT, ENERGY, OIL PRICES, INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY, AND OECD AREA ECONOMIC SITUATION. INGERSOLL

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